

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

OMB-01 SAM-01 SCCT-01 SAB-01 EB-07 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 NEAE-00 /082 W
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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3019

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USUN NEW YORK 3678

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 3197

.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR EG

SUBJECT: SADAT SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT - MARCH 29

SUMMARY. PRESIDENT SADAT'S FIRST ADDRESS TO NATION FOLLOWING SUSPEN-
SION OF KISSINGER MISSION WAS STATESMANLIKE AND MODERATE EXPLANATION
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OF GOE'S PAST DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS AND HOPES FOR FUTURE.

STRIKING FEATURES WERE TOTAL LACK OF RECRIMINATION FOR USG FAILURE
ACHIEVE SECOND STAGE DISENGAGEMENT, CAREFUL ANNOUNCEMENT THAT FUTURE
COURSES OF ACTION ARE NOT LIMITED TO GENEVA, ANNOUNCEMENT CANAL
WILL OPEN JUNE 5, 39 ISRAELI BODIES WILL BE RETURNED, AND
IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF ARABS (EG PALESTINIANS, SYRIANS, ET AL)
WHO HAD FAILED APPRECIATE EGYPT'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF ARAB CAUSE.
END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT SADAT DELIVERED FIRST MAJOR SPEECH SINCE SUSPENSION
KISSINGER MISSION ON EVENING MARCH 29 BEFORE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY
SPECIAL SESSION. AS PRESIDENT BEGAN TO SPEAK, PRESIDENCY PRESS
DIRECTOR DELIVERED ENGLISH TRANSLATION TO EMBASSY. FOLLOWING ARE
HIGHLIGHTS OF SPEECH WHICH DEALT ONLY WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS.:

2. FOLLOWING SHORT EULOGY OF LATE KING FAYSAL, PRESIDENT DECLARED
THAT WHATEVER RESULTS OF ASWAN MIGHT HAVE BEEN, IT HAD ALWAYS
BEEN HIS INTENTION OFFER REPORT TO PARLIAMENT. IF RESULTS WERE
ACCEPTABLE TO GOE, ALL DOCUMENTS WERE TO BE FILED WITH ASSEMBLY
SECRETARIAT.

3. SADAT CONTINUED: "WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO PUT TO REAL TEST THE
POLICY OF STEP BY STEP PROGRESS...OUT OF CONVICTION THAT POWER OF
AMERICAN PRESSURE ON ISRAEL IS UNEQUALLED BY ANY OTHER...AND THAT
THEREFORE WE HAD TO GIVE DR. HENRY KISSINGER...AND USG...SCOPE
WHEREBY THEY WILL TRY AND WE WILL JUDGE, AND A SPACE OF TIME FOR THEM
TO ENDEAVOR WHILE WE RETAIN THE FINAL SAY."

4. SADAT LISTED HIS "CONVICTIONS" AS FOLLOWS:

A. THERE IS MORE THAN ONE PATH TO THE OBJECTIVE; READINESS TO USE
DIPLOMACY SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBSTRUCT OUR READINESS TO ACT
BY FORCE, NOR READINESS AFFORD CHANCE TO STEP BY STEP BE ALLOWED
TO BLOCK WAY TO POSSIBILITY OF A MORE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH AT
GENEVA.

B. IN DECISIONS CONCERNING WAR AND PEACE, ANY RESPONSIBLE LEADER
SHOULD LET NO OPPORTUNITY BE LOST (IE TO AVOID WAR).

C. I HAVE TAKEN ON MYSELF RESPONSIBILITY THAT MY DECISIONS NOT BE
INFLUENCED BY PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS AND AM ALWAYS READY TRY
ANYTHING WHICH MAY LEAD TO ANY OF OUR OBJECTIVES. IF SUCH
ENDEAVOR SHOULD COME TO HALF, "I WOULD NOT LOOK UPON THIS TO BE THE
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END, NOR CONSIDER IT AS AFFECTING MY PRIDE." MY PRIDE IS IN
FULFILMENT OF MY COUNTRY'S RIGHTS.

5. IN PAST YEAR, PRESIDENT SAID, WE HAVE HAD TWO ENDEAVORS:
A. TO TRANSLATE INTO POLITICAL REALITY WHAT WAS ACHIEVED IN OCTOBER
WAR. VALUE OF ANY MILITARY VICTORY IS MEASURED BY ABILITY OF ITS
ARCHITECTS TO TRANSLATE IT TO "LIVING FACTS ON FIELD OF STRUGGLE
IN TERMS OF LIBERATED TERRITORY THAT WILL DAILY EXPAND UNTIL

EVERY LOST PLOT OF OUR HOMELANDS HAS BEEN FREED..."

B. TO PRESERVE UNDER ALL CONDITIONS THE MEASURE OF VICTORY (IE PSYCHOLOGICAL GAINS).

6. IN SEEKING THIS POLITICAL REALITY, PRESIDENT CONTINUED, WE AFFORDED

US OPPORTUNITY TO EXERCISE ROLE IT PROPOSED TO US FOR FIRST TIME IN OUR RELATIONS, AND REACHED INITIAL DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT UNDER WHICH ISRAELIS VACATED WEST BANK POCKET, AND WE ENTERED A FIRST ROUND OF GENEVA TALKS WHICH "TIED WHOLE WORLD TO RESPONSIBILITY OF PEACE MAKING IN ME, OPENED INTERNATIONAL FIELD TO A FULL AND REAL RECOGNITION OF RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINE PEOPLE AS REPRESENTED BY LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, AND PURSUED OUR EFFORT COMPLETE POLITICAL BLOCKADE ROUND ISRAEL." WE HAVE "LIFTED THE BLOCKADE ON PALESTINE" AND IMPOSED ONE ON ISRAEL.

7. IN RECENT EFFORT ACHIEVE SECOND PHASE OF DISENGAGEMENT, "OUR ONLY CONDITION WAS THAT A NEW ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN PARALLEL (ENGLISH TEXT HAS "IN TANDEM") ON THE THREE FRONT: EGYPTIAN, SYRIAN AND PALESTINIAN." SECOND DISENGAGEMENT "COULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE IF US WAS ABLE BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON ISRAEL. WE BELIEVED THIS WAS REQUIRED TO GIVE US MORE STRENGTH TO REINFORCE OUR POSITION." "MY ESTIMATE" WAS THIS PHASE WOULD END BY FALL OF 1974 SO BY BEGINNING OF 75 WE WOULD HAVE BEEN READY FOR GENEVA. SOME PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL AMERICAN POLICY IMPEDED THIS. "I DID NOT LET TIME BE LOST, BUT WENT FORWARD THEN WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR GENEVA AND PRESENCE THERE OF ALL PARTIES, SPECIFICALLY "THE PALESTINIAN PARTY." JZ WAS EGYPT WHICH PROPOSED RABAT SUMMIT SHOULD BE "PALESTINE CONFERENCE", WHERE RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED CONSIDERING PLO AS ONLY LEGITIMATE REP OF PALESTINE PEOPLE.

8. CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF RESISTANCE REFUSED TO GO TO GENEVA, AND RESISTANCE WAS UNWILLING THAT JORDAN SHOULD GO ON ITS BEHALF.
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AT THAT TIME, "I SUGGESTED TO PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIPS FOR STUDY" THAT THEY BE REPRESENTED AT GENEVA BY ARAB LEAGUE GENERAL SECRETARIAT, IE BY ALL THE ARAB STATES.

9. AT BEGINNING OF 1975, OUR DEMANDS FOR NEW DISENGAGEMENT WERE:
A. EVERY NEW ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WOULD BE "AN ADDITION, NOT A SUBTRACTION" FOR US.
B. TO GUARANTEE EFFICACY OF ANY NEW ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL, IT SHOULD BE TIED IN PRINCIPLE AND IN ACTION TO WITHDRAWAL ON THE THREE FRONTS.
C. MINIMUM WITHDRAWAL ACCEPTABLE AT THIS STAGE INCLUDES THE STRATEGIC PASSES AND OIL FIELDS AT ABU RUDAIS AND BALAIM.

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O R 291946Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3020

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT BAGHDAD

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USUN NEW YORK 3679

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

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10. THESE POINTS WERE COMMUNICATED TO DR. KISSINGER AND HE PROPOSED HE SHOULD TRY TO CARRY OUT HIS TASK THROUGH TWO VISITS, FIRST TO EXPLORE AND THEN TO TAKE PRACTICAL ACTION. I SUGGESTED ONE VISIT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT, SINCE OUR VIEWS WERE BEFORE HIM AND HIS CONTACTS WITH THE OTHER PARTIES WERE UNDER WAY. I RECEIVED WRITTEN MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GERALD FORD REQUESTING WE GIVE DR. KISSINGER
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OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE, AND I AGREED.

11. OUR WORK IN ASWAN LASTED 17 DAYS, REQUIRING PATIENT ENDURANCE AND EXTREME VIGILANCE. "WE WISHED OTHERS WERE ARMED WITH SELF CONFIDENCE AND WITH CONFIDENCE IN THEIR BROTHERS AND HAD LEFT US TO WORK QUIETLY WITHOUT BEING REQUIRED TO CONDUCT OUR TALKS BEFORE LOUDSPEAKERS.

12. WHAT WE DID NOT RPT NOT WANT AS TO TERMINATE AT THIS STAGE THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN US AND ISRAEL WHILE 2/3 OF SINAI WOULD REMAIN, EVEN AFTER PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL, UNDER ENEMY OCCUPATION. FURTHER, HOW COULD WE WANT TO END STATE OF BELLIGERENCY WHILE NO MORE WAS TAKEN ON GLAN, NO INTENTION WAS SHOWN TO MOVE FROM WEST BANK, GAZA, "OR, ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE, FROM JERUSALEM." HOW CAN WE WANT OR AFFORD THAT PRACTICALLY, LEGALLY, OR HISTORICALLY?

13. THIS, OUR POSITION, WAS NO SECRET TO ANYONE. THUS, WE CAN ASK: "WHO DECEIVED WHOM?" (APPLAUSE). WE WERE NOT DECEIVED BY ANY ISRAELI STANCE. AFTER A FEW DAYS IN ASWAN I TOLD SEVERAL OF MY AIDES AND DR. KISSENGER THAT ATTEMPT WILL NOT SUCCEED BECAUSE:

A. ISRAEL IS STILL LIVING IN AFTERMATH OF OCT 73, TRYING TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH AND BURY THEIR HEADS IN THE SAND, THOUGH FEARFUL TOLL

OF LIVES AND EQUIPMENT AFFECTED EVERY FAMILY. RECENTLY 39 BODIES DROPPED FROM IDF CASUALTY LISTS HAVE BEEN FOUND. I INSTRUCTED MINWAR TO HAND OVER BODIES AS "SYMBOL OF THE TRUTH."

B. PRESENT GOI IS WEAK, INCAPABLE OF DECISION-MAKING. "IT SPEAKS OF FORCE IN TERMS OF YESTERDAY'S ILLUSIONS AND SPEAKS OF PEACE WITH THE FEARS OF TOMORROW." (WIDESPREAD NODDING OF HEADS IN AGREEMENT)

C. SOME IN ISRAEL IMAGINE ISRAEL CAN EXPLOIT PRESENT POINTS OF WEAKNESS IN US POLICY TO PARALYZE EFFECTIVENESS OF US POSITION, EVEN THOUGH US POSITION IS IN INTERST OF US PEOPLE THEMSELVES ABOVE ALL.

D. SOME ELEMENTS IN ISRAELI DECISION-MAKING IMAGINE THEY ARE IN NEED OF GAINING TIME TO REFURBISH THEIR MIGHT AND TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE ARABS TO DIMINISH.

E. THESE ELEMENTS BELIEVE IF THEY GAIN A FEW MONTHS, THERE WILL BE MORE FAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES IN US WITH WILL BE PREOCCUPIED IN NEW CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENCY.

F. THUS THESE ELEMENTS BELIEVE THEY COULD STALL ANY US ROLE UNTIL
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NEW PRESIDENT IS ELECTED THROUGH ISRAELI SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY SINCE THEY BELIEVE ARAB OIL PRESSURE MAY EASE IN TWO OR THREE YEARS.

14. "WHAT NEXT...AND WHAT IS TO BE DONE?"PRESIDENT, "THINKING OUT LOUD," MADE FOLLOWING SEVEN POINTS:

A. WE POSSESS FREE WILL HAD HAVE PROVEN THIS WILL IS STRONG.
SITUATION DOES NOT RPT NOT CALL FOR ANGER.

B. WHEN WE ACCEPTED STEP BY STEP APPROACH EXPERIMENT, WE DECLARED THIS WAS NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR GENEVA BUT "COULD MERELY BE INTRODUCTORY TO IT. WE HAVE ACTUALLY EXTENDED THE INVITATION FOR RECONVENING GENEVA." OUR DEMANDS THERE WILL BE "WITHDRAWAL TO PRE-JUNE 5, 67 LINES AND ENSURANCE OF THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. HERE I MAY ADD THAT GENEVA WILL NOT BE SOLE FRAMEWORK FOR OUR ACTION TOWARD REALIZING THESE DEMANDS. I AM SAYING THIS SO THAT IT MAY BE HEARD BY ALL."

C. ENTIRE ARAB NATION MUST MAKE FULL ASSESSMENT OF ITS POSITION. IN THAT RESPECT WE HAVE A DEMAND: "FULL COORDINATION AMONG THE THREE FRONT LINE PARTIES, AND THESE ARE SYRIA, EGYPT AND PLO." THEN AN ARAB SUMMIT TO LAY DOWN COMPLETE STRATEGY FOR COMING STAGE. I HAD CONSIDERED EXTENDING AN INVITATION FOR SUMMIT IN CAIRO, BUT CHOSE TO WAIT FOR JUNE, AS CHOSEN IN RABAT, AT WHICH TIME I INTEND THAT EGYPT WILL SUBMIT PLAN OF ACTION.

D. "I HAVE ACCORDED AND WILL CONTINUE TO ACCORD, UTMOST EFFORTS TO PLACE RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND USSR IN THEIR RIGHT POSITION." THIS RELATIONSHIP IS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND STRATEGY, NOT OF OPPORTUNITY OR INCIDENTAL FRIENDSHIP. "I HOPE THIS EFFORT IS MUTUAL."

E. ARAB CAUSE MUST RETAIN INTERNATIONAL CREDIT IT HAS ACHIEVED EVERYWHERE. I WOULD NOT RECOMMEND RETREAT FROM ANY POSITIONS WE HAVE ATTAINED.

F. RE UNEF, "I PREFER ACTION TO (EMOTIONAL) REACTION. HENCE "I WILL ALLOW RENEWAL OF UNEF MANDATE FOR THREE MONTHS ONLY, INSTEAD OF SIX, BECAUSE I DO NOT WANT TO PLACE SUDDEN CRISIS BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND I WANT WHOLE WORLD TO KNOW THERE ARE LIMITS TO TIME AS WELL AS PATIENCE."

G. SUEZ CANAL WILL OPEN TO MARITIME NAVIGATION AT TIME I HAD SPECIFIED, NEXT JUNE 5, GOD WILLING (APPLAUSE). THIS WILL BE FOR BENEFIT OUR PEOPLE AND THE WORLD. WE ARE ABLE TO PROTECT CANAL AND CANAL CITIES WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO REBUILD. TIME IS PAST WHEN DISTANCE IS BARRIER TO AGGRESSION; SECURITY NOW RESTS WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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DETERRENT CAPABILITY WHICH WE POSSESS. ANY INFRINGEMENT ON CANAL OR CITIES "WILL BE MET WITH SUFFICIENT DETERRENCE..."

14. PRESIDENT CONCLUDED WITH OBSERVATION THAT "OUR PEOPLE" ALWAYS BEHAVE WITH COOL NERVES AND ARE IN CONTROL OF THEIR WILL. "WE KNOW OUR PLACE AS TORCH-BEARERS OF A CIVILIZATION AND AS ADVOCATES OF A PEACE BASED ON JUSTICE." OUR PRINCIPLES HAVE NOT CHANGED BUT WE CANNOT WAGE OUR CONFLICT IN AN ERA OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE WITH SAME METHODS USED IN COLD WAR.

15. COMMENT BY SEPTTEL.

EILTS

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